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ABSTRACT

An exploratory look at Taiwanese preschool children's compliant and noncompliant behaviors, how teachers responded to the behaviors, and the activity settings in which they occurred is offered in this paper. Observations were made in 10 different preschool centers in the city of Taipei; 5 were laboratory schools and 5 were private centers. A total of approximately 2 hours was spent observing at each. Through the use of the narrative-description method, examples of the most common forms of compliance, as well as specific anecdotal notes of each observed incidence of noncompliance, were recorded. In most cases, children were positively engaged as a group in simultaneously performing the same activity; thus, any noncompliant behavior was very noticeable. Observations (conducted in activities settings involving large-group instruction or stories, music and movement, art, transition time, and snack and lunch time) revealed that noncompliance occurred very infrequently. Compliant behavior was found to be typically cheerful, relaxed, and matter of fact. Factors that might account for the observed behaviors are discussed; these include teaching style, the nature of teachers' verbal behavior, the daily schedule of Taiwanese preschools, the relationships between closed- or open-structure activity settings, and the stringency of teachers' requirements for uniformity in children's behavior. (RH)

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COMPLIANCE & NONCOMPLIANCE IN PRESCHOOL CENTERS IN TAIWAN

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COMPLIANCE & NONCOMPLIANCE IN PRESCHOOL CENTERS IN TAIWAN

Introduction

During the months of January to April, 1982, I had the opportunity to observe regular classroom activities in preschool centers in Taiwan (The Republic of China).[1] Intrigued with the fact that Western visitors to preschool centers on the Mainland of China (The People's Republic) consistently describe the high degree of obedience and attention given by children to teachers, I was interested to know whether a similar degree of compliance would be found in Taiwan.

Both Taiwan and the Mainland, although no longer sharing the same political ideology, have a centuries-old cultural history in which respect for parents, teachers, and elders has played an important role. Thus, obedience and compliance have been instilled traditionally in children at an early age.

During my observations I recorded descriptions of children's compliant and noncompliant behaviors, how teachers responded to these, and in what activity setting they occurred. This information provides an exploratory look at compliant/noncompliant behaviors in preschools in Taiwan and gives some clues as to what factors might account for the observed behaviors.

The Centers

Observations were made in ten different preschool centers (called you zhi yuan, i.e., kindergartens) in the city of Taipei, each enrolling children three to six years of age. Five centers are laboratory schools connected with teacher education or child study programs; five are private centers. Class size ranges from fifteen to forty with the majority being in the range between twenty-five to thirty. Each class observed has at least two adults assigned to the classrooms, although at times only one was actively supervising and teaching the

children; laboratory schools had additional student teachers during some of the periods I observed.

The physical arrangement and amount of space differ greatly between the laboratory schools and the private centers. The classrooms in the laboratory schools are arranged into interest centers, similar to most preschool classrooms in North America. Small tables and chairs are distributed around the room with some open space between them. Most storage shelves for toys are at child-level and open. Only one of the private centers I observed has this open classroom arrangement. The classrooms in all the other private centers have tables and chairs arranged in rows with only enough space to walk around or between them. Open space is very limited. Very few child-level shelves exist.

The program structure also shows a distinct difference, as might be expected, between the closed and open arrangement classrooms. In the former, almost all activities are engaged in simultaneously by all the children in the classroom. There are no small group activities or free play, except on the playground. In the more open-structured classrooms, some activities are done by the class as a whole and some are done in small groups (six to ten children). Even in most of these centers, however, very little time comparatively is given to free play.

Observations

A total of about two hours was spent observing at each center. In the large centers, the observation time was divided among several classrooms with at least twenty minutes in each in order to see a sequence of behavior and activity. Time spent in private and laboratory schools was approximately equal.

Using narrative description, examples of the most common forms of compliance as well as specific anecdotal notes of each observed incidence of

noncompliance were recorded.[2] Although some cases of noncompliance were probably not noticed, it is unlikely that many were missed since noncompliant behavior was infrequent. Particularly in the private centers, it was relatively easy to observe the whole group since children tended to be seated doing the same activity simultaneously. Most children were positively engaged and thus any nonconformist or noncompliant behavior was very noticeable.

Definition of Compliance/Noncompliance

As used in early childhood research, compliance is generally described as behavior which conforms to expectations, standards (rules, routines), and teacher bids to listen, respond to questions, or perform a particular action (Lytton and Zwirner, 1975; Honig and Wittmer, 1979). The observations reported on here focus on whether the children are doing what the teacher implicitly wants them to do in the behavior setting. Are they complying with the teacher's goals, requests and directions? Are they positively engaged? Are they complying with established rules and routines?

Descriptions of compliant, followed by noncompliant behaviors will be given as observed in each of these settings: large-group instruction or stories, music and movement, art, transitions, and snack and lunch time.

Descriptions of Behavior

Large Group Instruction and Stories

When the teacher is demonstrating, explaining, or reading/telling a story with the entire group of children, the children are expected to sit in chairs, usually at tables, sometimes in a semi-circle. Occasionally children are permitted to sit on a table at the back of the group in order to see better. They are expected to listen to and watch the teacher with a minimal amount of talking among themselves. I observed no requests during such times to fold or sit on hands, although several times I observed teachers ask the children

to place hands behind their backs briefly at the beginning of an activity. This type of activity typically occurs at least twice during a half-day session and lasts each time from ten to twenty minutes.

Generally, the large majority of children comply with these expectations. They sit in a position to see the teacher and focus their attention on her actions. Although wiggly movements typical of preschool children occur, they seldom are disruptive and the teachers do not repeatedly request "sit still." A small amount of quiet talking also occurs among the children, but again, in most cases, it is not disruptive and consists of only brief comments by one or two children at any one time.

General inattention by more than one-fifth of the group occurred only once during my observations. This took place with a group of forty four-year olds during a discussion of silk worms. The teacher drew a picture of a cocoon and took a box of worms around for the children to see. Children were all seated in chairs at tables arranged in rows. Inattention was demonstrated by a variety of behaviors. Five to six children were talking to neighbors, quietly, at any one time; many were wiggling and squirming, some kneeling on the chair instead of sitting. Several were lying with their torso across the table. One child lay his head on the table and closed his eyes for five minutes. Other inattentive behaviors included fiddling with hankies (which are pinned to each child's smock), playing with a rubber band, playing with another child's hair, and playfully hugging a neighbor. There were also at least five incidents by different children of playful hitting and poking neighbors. Neither the teacher leading the activity nor the assistant made any attempt to redirect the children's behavior. The majority of the children were attentive the majority of the time.

Seldom did I see a teacher leading this kind of activity redirect children's noncompliant behavior. In one case, a child began hitting his chair with a stick and four others copied. The teacher requested that they stop. They complied and did not repeat the disruptive behavior.

On one other occasion during a large-group, teacher-directed activity, the assistant teacher walked over to a boy holding a hanky in front of his neighbor's face. She spoke to him briefly then walked away. He stopped for a few seconds, then repeated this behavior as well as poking and leaning on the girl beside him. When she pushed him, they engaged in an exchange of pats until a boy on the other side of the girl reached over and grabbed the aggressor's arm, at which point he ceased. The teacher seemed to be unaware of this continued noncompliance.

Music and Movement Activities

Preschools in Taiwan emphasize music and movement, no doubt partially due to the fact that this type of activity is well suited to large groups of children. The day typically begins with the children lining up behind their teacher on the playground for the flag-raising, followed by about five minutes of exercises or movement to music. Movements are stylized and done by the group in unison, the children continuing to stand in lines. This type of activity occurs again at the end of the day for flag-lowering before going home.

During the day, music and movement activities also occur in the classroom. Usually movements are structured and done in unison. Only in the laboratory schools did I observe any "free-style" creative movement activities.

Compliance during the flag ceremonies and structured movement activities is extremely high. Children quickly and easily line up when a signal is given, stretching their arms out in front to make proper space between the child in front. They pay close attention to the teacher at the front of their line,

attempting to follow her movements. Although the lines become slightly crooked as the children perform the movements, they maintain a basic order.

The infrequent noncompliance includes such behaviors as talking to another child, intentional physical contact with another child, or failure to perform the same movement as the teacher. For instance, I observed one boy move his arms to the wrong side, seemingly knowing it was not correct; he also kept turning around after others had stopped. The teacher paid no attention to this. In another case, a boy was drawing in the dirt. The assistant teacher went over and spoke to him; he stopped.

In the few more free, creative music and movement activities that I observed, there was more noncompliance than observed in the structured activities. The only two cases of general noncompliance by a large number of children in the group occurred during activities in which children were asked to respond to music with animal-like movements. In one situation, one-fourth of the group were not attending to the music nor performing animal movements; rather, they were bumping and pushing other children in a playful, wrestling fashion. Although the teacher had requested a special type of animal movement, she did not intervene until one child was accidentally hurt as three boys playfully poked each other with their fists.

In the other situation, the children were asked to be bees or butterflies, responding to music. Tables and chairs had been pushed back to the sides of the room. Most children were positively engaged in this activity for the first five minutes. Then gradually some began to sit, squat or stand on the chairs, some crawled on the tables, others jumped or wrestled, others looked at books. The teacher did not try to redirect their activity, although it was not in conformity with the original stated goal. Perhaps her own expectations had changed and thus, this behavior may not have been noncompliant.

The frequency of individual cases of noncompliance tended to be about the same as in the teacher-led discussion type activities. Generally they were non-disruptive and ignored by the teacher. For instance, in one of the laboratory schools, all the teachers and children were engaged in creative movement activity except for one girl. She played in the nearby house-play area for a few minutes, came and watched briefly from the sideline, then returned to the house-play. Finally, she went back to observe, watching until the activity was over. The teachers made no attempt to direct her into the activity after their initial instructions and requests to the group.

In another situation, during a music and movement activity, one child left the group, walked over to a table and started playing with a manipulative toy. The assistant teacher told him that he couldn't play with it now. She put the toy away. The boy left the room with a displeased look on his face. The teacher brought him back in and joined the group. The child went back to get the toy, but the group activity was ending then, so he left it and joined the children in another room for unstructured play.

Art Activities

Another common and frequent activity in preschools in Taiwan is art, including such things as watercolor painting, cutting, pasting, clay modeling, and paperfolding. In the private centers, the teacher typically plans an art activity for the whole group to do simultaneously. In the laboratory schools, children usually work in smaller groups, perhaps eight to ten children doing an art activity while other groups engage in something different.

The teacher expectations during art activities are minimal, generally consisting of the children being asked to listen and watch during demonstrations of such things as paperfolding or cutting, stay seated at the table (with freedom to get up to obtain materials as needed), and use the materials appropriately. There is no demand that they be silent while working. In most

classrooms, there is a pleasant hub-bub of conversation as the children work.

Compliance to these expectations was almost one-hundred percent, perhaps explained by the fact that they were minimal and reasonable. Also, the children exhibited a high degree of interest and pleasure in the activities.

One compliant behavior that stood out was children's lack of fidgeting with materials while watching the teacher demonstrate or explain an activity. (Typical advice given to student teachers working with children in North America is to avoid handing out materials before time for the hands-on action. That advice does not seem necessary in the Taiwanese classrooms.) For example, in preparing for a cutting activity, the teacher passed out the paper first, then the scissors, during which time none of the children mouthed, bent or tore the paper. When receiving the scissors, they asked questions before cutting if unsure of the instructions. None slashed out randomly.

During my observations, I noted only two cases of noncompliance during art activities. In one case, the children were making fingerprint pictures. One child just sat and watched her neighbors. After presenting the activity, the teacher made no further requests that this child become actively engaged. The teacher may have been unaware of the child's non-engagement since she was supervising thirty children.

In another situation, the children were drawing with crayons. One young three-year-old used a crayon to scribble on a nearby wall. When the teacher noticed, she intervened with a gentle reprimand, gave him a cloth and asked him to wipe the marks off the wall. He complied.

Transitions

During transition times, the teachers' expectations generally are that the children move from one area or position to another (e.g., from seated to

lining up), perform a cleaning up or preparation job, wait to do the next activity, or listen for instructions.

Generally, there is a high degree of compliance during these transitions similar to that observed in the other activities. Children quickly perform such requests as to stand up, push chairs into the table, form a line one behind the other, and put hands behind their backs. Other examples of compliant behavior during transitions include children passing out items to their peers, bringing dishes to and from tables at snack or lunch time, getting items out of and putting them back in their individual school bags and performing transitional attention-getting fingerplays and songs.

Only once did I observe several children within the group simultaneously noncomplying during a transition. This occurred with a group of three-year-olds who had been requested to come sit down at tables for their snack. One-fourth of the children did not immediately comply. Three children were jumping to reach a hanging on the wall; another three were climbing on chairs to look out the window. The teacher came over to each set and redirected them to the table, at which point the children complied. At the end of the snack, the teacher requested that they rest their heads on the table. Several children repeatedly raised their heads and one child got out of his chair and climbed on the table. When the teacher brought him back to his chair, he complied.

About two-thirds of the individual cases of noncompliance during transitions consisted of playful pushing, shoving and jostling as children moved from one position to another. Once I observed two boys pushing another to prevent him from getting in line by them. The victim finally went to the end of the line. The teacher was talking to someone just outside the classroom and was unaware of the interaction.

There were only a few incidences of failure to perform what had been specifically requested. For example, at the end of a playground period, the teachers signalled for the children to come to their classrooms. Three children wandered off toward a small stream on the edge of the playground. They continued to play there for about three minutes until the teacher came, took them by the hand and brought them to the classroom. In another situation, during lunch preparation when children were supposed to be washing hands, one boy ran into a store room. When the teacher went to bring him in, he flopped down on the floor. She took his arm gently, yet firmly, and he tried to pull away. She left him and about one minute later he went to the washroom.

More quarreling behavior took place during transitions than during other activities that I observed. For instance, two boys cleaning up blocks pulled back and forth on a small plastic stool until a teacher intervened, giving the block to the child who had it first. Two other boys argued over where some dishes belonged and started hitting each other. The teacher intervened, telling them where they went; the boys calmed down and finished cleaning up. One incidence of quarrelling and arguing took place during lunch preparation as two children each wanted to place bowls on the tables. The teacher intervened, explaining that someone else was doing that job already. They put the bowls back.

During my observations, I saw only two incidents involving a series of noncompliant behaviors by a child. (Interestingly, they both occurred with the same child.) One took place during snack preparation. Bowls had been set on the tables in front of each child. The teacher asked the children to put their hands behind their backs as they said a prayer. (This is a church-sponsored center.) One three-year-old boy did not; instead he started to handle the bowl, rattling it on the table. The teacher took away the bowl,

matter-of-factly saying that she would give it back to him when he was ready. He immediately put his hands behind his back and she placed the bowl in front of him. As she walked away, he picked up the bowl, mouthed it, and dropped it on the floor. The teacher came back and took the bowl away. A few minutes later, steamed buns were placed on a plate in the center of each table. The boy reached for a bun, but when the other children at the table told him not to take it because they hadn't said the prayer yet, he pulled his hand back. After the prayer was said, the teacher brought his bowl back so that soup could be poured into it. He proceeded to eat his snack, adding one embellishment -- he gargled his soup.

Snack and Lunch Time

During eating times, the teachers expect children to be seated, handling the utensils and food appropriately and feeding themselves. Teachers generally do not sit with the children during snacks, but are supervising passing out and collecting dishes, or chat with each other.

The compliance during snack and lunch times appears to be very high. I observed very little resistance to eating whatever is served and little playing with food. Conversation takes place among the children but voices are not loud. Transitions at the beginning and end are generally smooth.

Other Settings

Several cases of compliant/noncompliant behavior which took place in a variety of other activity settings are described below.

A boy accidentally hit another child. When the teacher requested that he say "sorry" to the victim, he complied.

Children were playing in a large sandbox on the playground with no teacher supervision. They had formed small piles of sand along a ledge beside a fence and walkway. An adult passerby pointed out to the children that the sand might

fall through the fence onto the walkway. As he asked them to brush the sand back into the sandbox, they listened but went on playing. When he repeated his request, explaining once again, they stopped their play and brushed the sand back in.

As children sat down to play a small group game (similar to lotto), the teacher noticed there was one too many children for the materials. She asked one girl to get a book to look at instead, which the child did readily, sitting at another table by herself.

The teacher asked a girl to complete an unfinished puzzle, she complied.

A boy playing with blocks began to use one as a gun and a sword. The teacher asked him to not use it that way. He put the block down.

In another block play situation, a boy was using a block as a sword to hit other blocks. The teacher asked him not to use it that way. He changed the block into a gun at that point, pretending to shoot it. The teacher took the block away. The child did not protest and went over to play with some other blocks.

Summary of General Characteristics

The following observation summarizes the general atmosphere of pleasant compliance and orderliness typical of preschools in Taiwan. The children are involved in the closing exercises and flag-lowering, an end-of-day routine in almost all centers.

> The children, about one hundred in number, exit from their classrooms calmly, with their school bags over their shoulders. Some go to play on the playground equipment. Others stand around talking to peers, running, or skipping.

The director sets up a loud speaker and tape recorder. Using a microphone, she tells the children to line up. The children all come willingly and promptly. The teachers help get the children into lines. The lines are not perfectly straight, yet the teachers show no concern. When asked to, the children put arms out to touch the child's shoulder in front. Then they lower them.

Two children are selected by the director to lower the flag as a short song is played over the speaker. The children all stand at attention loosely.

A different child, appearing to be about 3½ years old, is asked to come to the front to stand by the director. Together they model movements for the other children to follow as music plays. Each line of children has one teacher standing at the front and one at the rear also modeling the movements. All the children except one very young (perhaps 2½) try to follow. Most do well, although often they are a few seconds behind the teachers.

Some movements are so active (jumping, bending) that lines become disordered yet don't disintegrate. The teachers show no concern. Some children bump into others, unintentionally; those involved just giggle and continue their movements. Two children bump their heads gently each time they bow to each other; they just giggle and then bow more slowly so that their heads gently touch, not hit.

The children's attentiveness is evidenced by their close imitation of the teachers' movements. The hand movements of the older children are very precise.

> The group ends by singing a "zai jian" (goodbye) song. The director says, "mingtian jian" (we'll see you tomorrow), and dismisses the children. They disperse in a calm, orderly fashion, with no serious bumps, pushing, or knocking each other down. Some line up to get on the school bus. Others play here and there on the playground as they await the arrival of their parents. Each child leaves readily and happily when the parent arrives.

I could not help but be amazed at the fact that one hundred children were demonstrating simultaneously such ease of compliance when called away from a brief interlude of free play into this teacher-directed large group activity. They showed eager attention, enjoyment and enthusiasm throughout this thirty-minute period with not a single incidence of disruptive peer interaction.

Several characteristics stand out in the interactions between preschool children and their teachers in Taiwan. There seems to be a high degree of compliance with basic rules and routines as well as with specific teacher requests, both to the group and to individuals. Compliance is typically cheerful, relaxed and matter-of-fact; I observed no pouting or crying as a result of being asked to comply. Teachers usually do not need to repeat requests numerous times before children comply.

In large group activities with one main goal, most noncompliant behavior is not disruptive to the central activity of the group and is either unnoticed or purposefully ignored by the teachers. Noncompliant behavior tended to be limited to actions of less than ten percent of the group (i.e., only two or three children in groups ranging in size from 20 to 40).

It was rare to see individual children who did not comply with a specific teacher request directed to them personally. When this did occur, the teacher

never followed up the initial request with punishment nor with harshly stated remarks. She tended to either ignore the child or remove a desired item. Children almost never strongly protested complying with the teacher's request. I observed no physical or verbal aggression toward the teacher.

Discussion

Relevant Factors

It is interesting to examine factors that have been shown to be positively related to compliance and determine which of these are demonstrated in preschools in Taiwan. Research findings generally show that adult behavior rather than child intransigence is the most relevant factor in facilitating compliance. For instance, in their study of toddlers, Honig and Wittmer (1979) found that compliance was particularly high in response to a positive teaching style, e.g., teaching-facilitating and ego-boosting rather than commanding and restricting. These findings support those of Lytton and Zwirner (1975) who determined that suggestion rather than command-prohibition was more effective in obtaining compliance by a parent.

The mother's warmth of voice and gentle physical handling have been shown to be positively related to toddlers' compliance with requests. In a study of parents' discipline methods, Baumrind (1977) found a positive relationship between compliance and an "authoritative" style of discipline which involves setting firm rules, clearly communicating expectations, demanding responsible high-level performance and offering warmth and commitment to the interests of the child. Children whose parents used this style were unlikely to disrupt activities of other children, disobey, or undermine the rules. Rather they tended to facilitate group routine. "Authoritative control can achieve responsible conformity with group standards without loss of individual autonomy or self-assertiveness" (p. 258).

The behavior of teachers I observed in Taiwan is generally characterized by the elements described above. Their teaching style is usually positive and authoritative (rather than authoritarian or permissive). Voice tones are warm, lively, and enthusiastic. Physical interactions are gentle.

Another common characteristic is that much of the time the teacher is leading a structured large group activity and attends to the group as a whole rather than to individual children, thus few bids for compliance are directed to any one child. Also, the teacher directs less praise and acknowledgement to individual children. Phyfe-Perkins (1981, p. 4) describes research findings that show children in such a classroom become more independent and seek less approval from the teacher, seeming to find reward in the work itself.

Another important element is the nature of the teachers' verbal behavior which was characteristically positive, unhurried, enthusiastic, and encouraging. This type of teacher verbalization appears to facilitate compliance (ibid., p. 3). Praise to the group may also foster the high degree of positive engagement.

The daily schedule of preschools in Taiwan includes few transition times that require a physical rearrangement of furniture or persons since there is little space in which to do so. This alleviates confusion during transition times and thus may explain some of the compliant behavior.

The fact that my observations were made during the second half of the school year may be relevant. Berk found that children's compliant responses increased as the school year progressed with the children generally showing more cooperation and acquiescence (Berk, Jackson, Wolfson, 1973, p. 347). Thus, this factor may explain some of the high degree of compliance that I observed.

A common concern expressed by Westerners who visit the preschools in Taiwan is that children may experience an overload of constraints due to the crowded classrooms and low teacher-child ratio. Yet a study by Berk found no relationship between constraining experiences and the classroom size and spatial arrangement nor the teacher-child ratio. The degree of structure in the program was the only environmental variable which showed a relationship to frequency of constraining experiences. For instance, encounters with teacher expectation were more frequent in a structured, task-involved program than in more free-play oriented centers (ibid., p. 346).

The effects of "closed" versus "open" structure settings has been explored in a study by Prescott et al. (1975) determining that, in the former, teachers largely decide what children shall do and in the latter, "open structure," the children make more activity decisions. The study describes many beneficial results of the open structure. It describes the imposition of restrictions on children's movement and activity as the major characteristic in the closed structure setting. To counterbalance the constraints, the authors suggest that teachers in a closed structure classroom be "open" in some of their behavior, e.g., by not requiring children to conform to rigid behavior expectations.

This kind of counterbalance is highly evidenced in the preschool classrooms in Taiwan. For instance, in most closed-structure situations, even if the main goal of the activity does not call for peer interaction, the teachers do not try to prohibit engagement with peers, as long as it does not disrupt the main activity. Neither do they expect children to sit or stand with no fidgeting or wiggling. When children are asked to form lines, a frequent request, the teachers do not demand perfect straightness or military-like precision.

This explanation may help us understand some of the high compliance which appears to show no significant difference in frequency between the closed and more open-structured centers in Taiwan.

Another element of the teacher-dominated style in Taiwan is that requests and instructions are generally addressed to a group of children rather than to individuals. Perhaps children are more likely to comply to group than to individual requests; they see their peers acting in a certain fashion and they follow suit.

Some studies have shown that when direct teacher leadership is a major mode of classroom organization children tend to show low-level task involvement (Phyfe-Perkins, 1981, p. 37). Yet, during my observations of such classrooms, children generally exhibited a high level of task involvement. This may be explained by findings of related studies which show that on-task behavior during teacher-led group activities is increased by a fast-paced, continuous-stimuli style of directing (ibid., pp. 26-68), a style commonly demonstrated by teachers in Taiwan.

Comparisons with Observations from the Mainland

Comparing details collected in my observations with those of visitors to the Mainland, children in Taiwan centers show more noncompliance although the frequency is also low. We must take into account that the observations reported here cover the full range of daily activities and were made in a variety of centers freely chosen by the observer. Visitors to the Mainland have for the most part observed only highly structured, teacher-led, and performance-type activities. They have been taken to centers chosen by authorities. The centers in Taiwan are administered by educational institutions, churches, or private business and run by political or labor entities and offer full-day or residential programs. Also, the child/teacher ratio seems to be lower and class size smaller on the Mainland than in Taiwan (Sidel, 1973, p. 129, 140 ff; Wolf, 1981). Any of these

factors, as well as the broader consideration of the influence of the different political-social systems, may account for the apparent difference in degree of compliant behavior.

To be emphasized is the high degree of similarity rather than difference in the compliance reported herein as observed in Taiwan and that reported by observers in the Mainland who describe children as being attentive, well-behaved, self-disciplined, seldom crying, obedient and non-aggressive (Copithorne, 1977-78; Corwin, 1978; Gentry, 1981; Honig, 1978, Kessen, 1975; Sidel, 1973).

Those who have observed teachers on the Mainland report a style of teacher-child interaction very similar to that reported herein. They are described in numerous reports as being gentle, calm, patient, nurturant, and non-punitive (ibid.). The activities are characterized as being predominantly teacher-initiated and conducted in large groups. Ruth Sidel states in her detailed observations (1972) that, "(t)here just does not seem to be a battle going on between children and adults in the way that we know it" (p. 103). This statement applies to the interactions I observed in Taiwan also.

Although the political ideology and specific educational goals of the Mainland and Taiwan have differed greatly over the last three decades, perhaps the style of teacher-child interaction has been similar. Also, each has a social system which is highly uniform in its values and ethics, each giving emphasis to moral education and an authoritative style of socialization.

FOOTNOTES

1. These visits were largely facilitated by Professor Chu-Sheng, Yeh Cheng, President, Republic of China, ACEI. Appreciation is given to the staffs of these Centers: Good Shepherd, You Xin, Wenti, Suang Lien, Min De, Chinese Culture University, Furen University, National Teachers College (Shi Da), Taipei Municipal Teachers College, and Xinchu Bible College.

2. Through the author's beginning level Chinese skills and the assistance of interpreters, some verbal details were noted. Primary focus was on non-verbal behavior, however.

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